

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7248

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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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DEPARTMENT PASS AID

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TAGS: PINT, PGOV, BG

SUBJECT: MUJIB ESTABLISHES NEW DISTRICT SYSTEM, JUSTIFIES HIS
SECOND REVOLUTION

SUMMARY. THE NEW DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM FOR BANGLADESH WILL BECOME EFFECTIVE SEPTEMBER 1 WHEN THE GOVERNORS OF THE SIXTY RECONSTRUCTED DISTRICTS TAKE OFFICE. THANA-LEVEL ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES WILL OCCUR WITHIN A YEAR; THE MULTIPURPOSE COOPERATIVE SYSTEM WILL BE LIMITED INITIALLY TO 60 TO 100 COOPERATIVES. IN CONFIRMING THESE LONG-ANTICIPATED CHANGES TO THE FIRST MEETING OF THE BAKSAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE JUNE 19, SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN TOOK THE OCCASION TO JUSTIFY THE NEED FOR THE SECOND REVOLUTION. ELABORATING AT LENGTH ON FAMILIAR THEMES, MUJIB SAID THAT HIS POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REVOLUTION WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE THE OLD "MOTH EATEN" COLONIAL SYSTEM PERMITTED FOREIGN CONSPIRACY AND FOSTERED CORRUPTION, SECRET KILL-
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INGS, DIVISIVE POLITICS, AND BUREAUCRATIC IRRESPONSIBI-

LITY AND DELAY. IN AUGUST, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL BE MEETING AGAIN IN SUBCOMMITTEES IN ORDER TO CONSIDER AN AGENDA FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE NEW DISTRICTS. BY PRESIDENTIAL ORDER ISSUED JUNE 22, THE NEW DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM WILL TAKE EFFECT SEPTEMBER 1. THE 60 DISTRICTS (MOSTLY THE OLD SUBDIVISIONS) WILL BE GOVERNED BY DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCILS HEADED BY APPOINTED GOVERNORS SERVING AS COUNCIL PRESIDENT WITH THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE AS SECRETARY; THE COUNCILS WILL BE UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. AS MUJIB SAID JUNE 19, THE GOVERNORS WILL BE APPOINTED FROM AMONG MPS, OTHER POLITICIANS, AND CIVIL SERVANTS "WHOM I TRUST AND WHO ARE NOT SNOBS." THE GOVERNORS WILL BEGIN A ONE-MONTH TRAINING COURSE JULY 15. ACCORDING TO THE CHIEF WHIP SHAH MOAZZEM HOSSAIN, MPS WHO BECOME GOVERNORS WILL RETAIN THEIR PARLIAMENTARY SEATS. HOSSAIN TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE EXPECTED THE MAJORITY OF THE GOVERNORS WOULD BE POLITICIANS, NOT CIVIL SERVANTS.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ORDER, THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL WILL HAVE THE FOLLOWING MEMBERSHIP:

- ALL MPS OF THE DISTRICT AS EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS (AVERAGE OF 5 PER DISTRICT)
- THE SECRETARY OF THE DISTRICT BAKSAL;
- ONE OTHER MEMBER NOMINATED BY BAKSAL;
- FOUR REPRESENTATIVES OF FRONT GROUPS (ONE EACH FROM THE PEASANT, LABOR, YOUTH AND WOMEN'S LEAGUES), NOMINATED BY BAKSAL;
- ONE REPRESENTATIVE FROM EACH THANA, NOMINATED BY BAKSAL (AVERAGE OF 7 PER DISTRICT);
- DISTRICT OFFICERS OF THE VARIOUS MINISTRIES INCLUDING THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE AS AN EX-OFFICIO MEMBER (AVERAGE OF 10 PER DISTRICT);
- ALL THANA MAGISTRATES (AVERAGE OF 7 PER DISTRICT)

3. BECAUSE THE NUMBER OF THANAS IN EACH DISTRICT RANGE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FROM 4 TO 14, THE COUNCILS WILL VARY IN SIZE, BUT WE EXPECT THE AVERAGE COUNCIL WILL HAVE ABOUT THIRTY MEMBERS. THE COUNCILS WILL HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OVERALL CONTROL, SUPERVISION AND COORDINATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENTAL WORK IN THE ENTIRE DISTRICT, INCLUDING BOTH SCHEMES PUT FORWARD BY VARIOUS MINISTRIES AND THOSE THAT THE COUNCIL ITSELF INITIATES. THE BDG HAS ALLOCATED AN INITIAL SEVEN CRORE TAKA (ABOUT \$5

MILLION) TO ESTABLISH THE NEW DISTRICT SYSTEM; ANOTHER THREE TO FIVE CRORE TAKA (\$2.5-4.0 MILLION) MAY BE NEEDED FOR SALARIES OF ADDITIONAL GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL.

4. OTHER COMING CHANGES. THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL SYSTEM AT THE THANA LEVEL WILL BE PUT INTO EFFECT WITHIN ONE YEAR. THE ONLY EARLY THANA-LEVEL CHANGE WILL BE THE REPLACEMENT OF THE CIRCLE DEVELOPMENT OFFICER BY A DEVELOPMENT MAGISTRATE. (IN HIS SPEECH, THE ONLY CLASS OF CIVIL SERVANT MUJIB SINGLED OUT SPECIFICALLY FOR CORRUPTION WAS THE CIRCLE DEVELOPMENT OFFICER.) MUJIB ALSO TOLD THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT "60 TO 75 EVEN 100" MULTI-PURPOSE COOPERATIVES WOULD BE ESTABLISHED; A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL BE ASSIGNED TO SUPERVISE EACH OF THESE COOPERATIVES. STATING THAT THE "NEW LAND SYSTEM AND COOPERATIVES" ARE NECESSARY FOR AN EXPLOITATION-FREE SOCIETY, MUJIB COMPLAINED THAT UNDER THE "OLD BRITISH UNION COUNCILS" HALF OF WHAT IS GIVEN (I.E., IN FUNDS) "EVAPORATES." THE SYSTEM WILL BE DEVELOPED SLOWLY, HOWEVER, BECAUSE, MUJIB SAID, HE IS "NOT IMPATIENT...NOT AN ADVENTURIST"; CAREFUL STUDY IS NECESSARY BECAUSE NOT ALL LANDS IN BANGLADESH ARE THE SAME AND DIFFERENT AREAS HAVE DIFFERENT PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. MUJIB LASHED OUT AT "A CLASS OF SCOUNDRELS MAKING PROPAGANDA THAT SHEIKH SHABIB IS TAKING AWAY

ALL LANDS." MUJIB SAID "I WILL NOT TAKE LANDS; YOU WILL MAKE YOUR OWN ENDEAVOR AND TOGETHER PRODUCE CROPS AND SHARE AMONG YOURSELVES." BUT, HE POINTED OUT, THERE IS A CEILING ON LAND HOLDING, NOW SET AT 100 BIGHAS (ABOUT 33 ACRES).

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5. MUJIB'S REASONS. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MUJIB PRESENTED COMPREHENSIVE EXPLANATION FOR HIS "SECOND REVOLUTION", WHICH HE DEFINED AS HIS "NEW SYSTEM" OF A ONE PARTY STATE AND A REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE. IN SUM, THE CHANGE WAS NEEDED TO COMBAT THE FOREIGN CONSPIRACY, CORRUPTION, AND BUREAUCRATIC IRRESPONSIBILITY THAT THWARTS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND TO CREATE NATIONAL UNITY AND FULL USE OF THE NATION'S TALENTS. MUJIB INSISTED THAT HE HAD NOT INTRODUCED THE ONE-PARTY PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM IN ORDER TO RETAIN POWER. THERE HAD BEEN, HE SAID, NO POSSIBILITY

OF THE AWAMI LEAGUE "BEING THROWN OUT OF OFFICE;" THE PARTY WOULD HAVE WON AT LEAST 90 PERCENT OF ANY FUTURE VOTE. HE HAD ACTED BECAUSE "FREE STYLE" POLITICS HAD RESULTED, NOT IN CONSTRUCTIVE COMMENT, BUT IN FOREIGN AGENTS WITHIN BANGLADESH, AIDED BY "TORRENTS OF FOREIGN MONEY," WORKING TO SUBVERT INDEPENDENCE. WHAT RESULTED, MUJIB SAID, WAS THE NIGHTTIME MURDERS OF MPS AND THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL WORKERS; THE ENDLESS SUPPLY OF ARMS, AND THE DACOITIES, BLACKMAIL THREATS AND ROB-
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BERIES WHICH HAD DEMORALIZED THE PEOPLE. IN A POSSIBLE ALLUSION TO THE JAILING OF HOLIDAY EDITOR ENEYETULLAH KHAN, MUJIB SPOKE OF A NEWSPAPER SUPPORTED ONLY WITH MONEY FROM "FOREIGN QUARTERS TO CREATE CHAOS AND CONFUSION INSIDE THE COUNTRY." OBVIOUSLY BLAMING PRO-PAKISTANI ELEMENTS FOR THE CONSPIRACY, MUJIB LASHED OUT AT THOSE HE CLAIMED WERE "RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRES IN BANGLADESH" NOW SPENDING MONEY FROM LONDON TO CREATE CHAOS IN BANGLADESH. WHAT RIGHT, HE ASKED, HAD THEY TO TRY TO MAKE INDEPENDENT BANGLADESH "A PROVINCE OF ANOTHER COUNTRY."

6. CORRUPTION. THE "MOTH EATEN" BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH HE WAS DETERMINED TO "SMASH", MUJIB SAID, WAS THE BREEDING GROUND OF CORRUPTION. THE CHAIRMAN CLAIMED THAT WHATEVER HE SENT TO THE PEOPLE WAS STOLEN: 30 PERCENT OF THE FERTILIZER, 20 PERCENT OF THE FOOD, 20 TO 25 PERCENT OF ANY COM-

MODITIES. SINCE BANGLADESH DID NOT GROW WHEAT AND BDG DID NOT SELL FERTILIZER ON THE OPEN MARKET, WHERE, HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, HAD THESE COMMODITIES IN AHW THE BAZAARS COME FROM: THE GOVERNMENT GODOWN. REFERRING TO THE "LOOTING" OF THE THANAS, MUJIB SAID "ANY POLITICAL WORKER IS BETTER THAN A CIRCLE DEVELOPMENT OFFICER IF THE POLITICAL WORKER IS SINCERE." HE CALLED AGAIN FOR A NATION-WIDE BOYCOTTING OF THE CORRUPT. IN THE ONLY REFERENCE TO MISUSE OF THEIR POSITIONS BY POLITICIANS, MUJIB WARNED THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT BAKSAL MEMBERSHIP WOULD NOT MEAN HANDING OUT A "SIGNBOARD" SAYING "I AM A MEMBER AND GIVE ME A PERMIT.

7. IRRESPONSIBILITY. MUJIB ATTRIBUTED THE CORRUPTION TO THE PRESENT DEPARTMENTALIZED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH OFFICIALS AVOID RESPONSIBILITY. "THIS ADMINISTRATION AND THEN OUR SECRETARIAT SHOULD BE BROKEN UP," MUJIB SAID, BECAUSE "THERE IS NO MONEY AND NO FOOD. THERE ARE A THOUSAND AND ONE COMPLAINTS." YET ACCORDING TO MUJIB, EVERYTHING IS DONE "WITH DOUBLES AND TRIPLE" AND THE BUREAUCRATIC PAPERWORK RESULTS IN NO ACTION. MOREOVER, THERE "IS A FASHION" OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AVOIDING RESPONSIBILITY BY SAYING "THIS WORK IS NOT MINE." THUS, THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION MUST BE MADE STRONG AND A "WATCH DOG" CREATED FROM THE VILLAGE LEVEL. "THERE WILL BE NO GOOD TO THE COUNTRY ONLY BY DEPENDING

ON GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES."

8. NATIONAL UNITY. MUJIB STRESSED THAT THE SMALL EDUCATED CLASS MUST BE UNITED FOR THE NATIONAL WELFARE. THE DISTRUST AND SUSPICION BETWEEN POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS HAS TO BE REMOVED (THROUGH THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM AND ONE PARTY) AND THE TALENTS OF THE COUNTRY POOLED. FOR THIS REASON MUJIB SAID HE CHANGED THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM; UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM THE PEOPLE VOTED FOR THE AWAMI LEAGUERS FOR LOVE OF "BANGABHANDHU" EVEN WHEN THEY DISLIKE THE CANDIDATE. BY PRESENTING THREE OR FOUR BAKSAL CANDIDATES TO THE PEOPLE, MUJIB SAID, "THE PEOPLE GET THE CHANCE TO SEND UP GOOD MEN ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN CHOICE." THE VEHICLE FOR THIS NATIONAL UNITY, BY IMPLICATION, IS BAKSAL. TO MUJIB, A "POLITICAL PARTY MEANS A FAMILY IN WHICH THERE IS IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY." BUT MUJIB STRESSED IT IS A INTRODUCED: "THE KIND OF EXPLOITATION FREE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM...PECULIAR TO OUR OWN CONDITIONS. WE WILL NOT HIRE ANY SYSTEM FROM ANY COUNTRY NOR IMPORT

ANY "ISM" HERE...FROM ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD."

9. COMMENT. THE JUNE 19 SPEECH IS ONE OF THE FEW EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESSES OF SHEIKH MUJIB FOR WHICH THE COMPLETE TEXT HAS BECOME AVAILABLE. THE DISCURSIVE, AT TIMES EMOTIONAL RECITATION OF VARIOUS THEMES VOICED OFTEN IN THE PAST REVEALS THE PRESIDENT'S GRIEVANCE OVER THE MAL-ADMINISTRATION AND CORRUPTION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. WHILE MUJIB LAYS MOST OF THE BLAME ON THE CIVIL SERVICE, HE DOES NOT ENTIRELY SPARE THE POLITICIANS, FAULTING THEM INDIRECTLY FOR INTERFERING IN GOVERNMENT AND SEEKING TO USE THEIR POSITION FOR GAIN. MUJIB'S SOLUTION, HOWEVER, IS TO GO WITH THE POLITICIANS, UNDER TIGHT DISCIPLINE OF COURSE, AND TO MAKE THE BUREAUCRATS HE RETAINS IN POSITIONS OF POWER INTO PARTY MEMBERS. THE SPEECH ALSO REVEALS MUJIB'S AWARENESS, PERHAPS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF WHAT CRITICS ARE SAYING ABOUT THE SECOND REVOLUTION. HIS PROTESTATION THAT HE IS NOT MOTIVATED BY POWER AND HIS EMPHASIS ON THE INDIGENOUS NATURE OF HIS REVOLUTION ARE EVIDENCE OF THIS. THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DISTRICT GOVERNORS IN JULY WILL PROVIDE SOME INDICATION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH MUJIB HAS DRAWN UPON THE BEST TALENT IN THE COUNTRY, A DECLARED CENTRAL PURPOSE OF HIS NEW SYSTEM. FURTHER EVIDENCE OF MUJIB'S INTENTIONS FOR THE COUNTRY WILL COME IN AUGUST WHEN THE BAKSAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL MEET FOR A WEEK TO DISCUSS, IN SUB-COMMITTEES, A NATIONAL AGENDA FOR DEVELOPMENT. BOSTER

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